WRL NEWS

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WALK TO BEGIN JANUARY 31

PREPARATIONS UNDER WAY ON WEST COAST

by Steve Ladd & Scott Ullman

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice will begin in San Francisco on Saturday, January 31. Following a morning rally, where we hope to attract a few thousand people, the Walk will proceed 6 miles on its first leg to Daly City. On Sunday it will go 11 more miles to San Mateo. From there it will stop in Palo Alto, Sunnyvale, San Jose, Los Gatos, Santa Cruz, Monterey, Salinas, and then go basically down Highway 101 through Santa Barbara to L.A. We expect to take a little more than 7 weeks to reach the Arizona border, where the Arizona people will pick up the Walk.

The unique concept of a 3600 mile community-to-community Walk to demilitarize America and reorder our priorities has already excited and energized many people throughout California and the Northwest. Local community meetings have already been held in about a dozen communities along the West Coast, from Seattle to Los Angeles. One regional meeting for West Coast organizers was also held on October 18 in Isla Vista, and another is planned for December 6 in Santa Cruz. In Northern California, where the Walk will begin, a solid network of organizers has been established in major communities from Ukiah to Monterey. The impression we get from all this preliminary work is that the Walk will be one of the largest, most creative actions for disarmament and social justice in many years.

Though the "official" beginning of the Walk is in San Francisco on January 31st, a car caravan from the Seattle-Vancouver area will leave around January 1st, stopping to walk through the major cities in the Northwest. The caravan will arrive in Ukiah, California, in time to join up with the Ukiah people who will begin walking their feeder route to San Francisco on January 23. They expect to hold a large rally before the beginning of their leg of the Walk. A feeder route is also being organized from the East Bay, to start around January 24 at the Concord Naval Weapons Station and proceed to Oakland. From Oakland, the walkers will come over to San Francisco for the "official" beginning. The only other known West Coast feeder route is planned from San Diego (and possibly the Mexican border) into Los Angeles.

We have many exciting plans for the Walk, which involve actions before, during, and after the Walk. The week before the Walk leaves S.F., we hope (energy and time permitting) to have a "Five Days Against Violence" teach-in with each day focusing

(continued on page 2)

Steve Ladd and Scott Ullman are staff members of the San Francisco Walk office.

Continental Walk's steering committee meets in New York photo by Grace Hedemann

THE CONTINENTAL WALK

The ground swell of interest in the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice is party reflected by the fact that there are now organizers in 32 states out of the 44 having interested people. While the main route of the Walk covers 13 states, *proposed* branch route bring the total states affected to 32 so far, with perhaps Canada and Mexico to be included in some parts of the route.

About 80 individuals have expressed interest in long distance walking (some even the full way across the Continent). As one way of personalizing the Walk, sponsors for individual long distance walkers are being sought out. These sponsors would financially support a walker (paying for food and other subsistence costs) and in return receive regular correspondence from the person throughout the Walk.

If you have not already expressed interest in the Continental Walk, write or call the national coordinating office at 339 Lafayette Street, New York NY 10012 or 212-677-5455. If you live in California be sure to get in contact with the San Francisco office of the Continental Walk, 1380 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103 or 415-6976.

(continued from page 1)

on a different kind of violence (i.e., militarism, racism, sexism, the violence of the state, etc.). Women who have been meeting as part of the Walk organizing here are planning a "Women's Festival" to focus on the relationship of feminism to disarmament in a creative way. It may be part of that week of teach-ins.

Ralph Abernathy has asked to be a part of the events preceding the beginning of the Walk here, which is a very exciting development to us. Daniel Ellsberg has already done some speaking on behalf of the Walk to large audiences here, and plans to more in this area and elsewhere. He will commit much of the Spring to speaking around the country to aid the Walk. We expect that both Ellsberg, Abernathy, and other well-known people will be on hand for the first day of the Walk, which will help to give us a large turnout and good press coverage.

On the route of the Walk, we have plans to stop at defense contractors, prisons, military installations, and nuclear power-related sites. With California being such a center for defense contracting and the military, we've had a problem in deciding who to "visit" and who not to "visit." So we're going to try to end each day at one relevant site, and start the next morning at another. Thus far, we plan to stop at: Stanford Research Institute (defense researchers), Lockheed (building Trident missiles); Food Machinery Corporation (producing anti-personnel weapons); United Technology (developing cruise missile system); G.E.'s nuclear power headquarters; Fort Ord; Soledad Prison, Vandenberg Air Force Base; and Lompoc Prison among others on the way to L.A.

We've also been concentrating our efforts in reaching out to groups and communities more concerned with the social justice tie-in to disarmament. That's meant trying to contact women's groups, Third World groups, the gay community, senior citizens, and labor unions. It's also meant drawing up an insert to the National Call to bring out better the connections between struggles for social justice and the fight for disarmament. We felt that the Call was highly inadequate in making that connection, and thus wrote up the insert. Though the response so far has been low from these other constituencies (as we expected), we hope a number of upcoming events will help us involve these different groups.

One event is the San Francisco-wide Celebration for Change on November 30, initiated by a well-respected local Black minister, that we'll be participating in. It will involve a whole range of social service, social justice, and peace groups in a day of activities. We expect that it will give us a unique opportunity to make face-to-face contact with many other people and groups we don't normally come in contact with. The Women's festival which is being planned and the appearance of Rev. Abernathy should also help us to reach out to constituencies beyond the normal peace movement.

Follow-up plans are very important to us, so that we can prevent the Walk from being a one-shot "energy rip-off". But we haven't worked out specific details for follow-up yet. We do hope though that the tremendous energy the Walk will generate will benefit many already existing projects in this area relating to disarmament, such as the B-1 Bomber Campaign, War Tax Resistance, the Coalition to Cut Military Spending, the Mid-Peninsula Peace Conversion Project, the Stop the Trident Campaign, and others.

Right now there are 4 people working almost full-time in the San Francisco office trying to coordinate the Walk in the Bay Area. Other people are working part or full-time in other communities along the route, with the help of others in their communities. One person, Peter Klotz, is acting as the Northern California coordinator, which means he's actively checking out route details and trying to get things set up in communities along the way where we have no contacts as yet.

Even with all this help, we are totally overwhelmed with the amount of work to do, especially if we are to carry out many of our obviously ambitious plans. But we are excited about this whole project, and intend to make the beginning of the Walk a big success so that it will help to generate interest and energy for the Walk all across the country. We strongly encourage people on the West Coast who read this to get in touch with us if you're interested in helping out or walking. We can refer you to people nearest to your community who are working on the Walk. Meanwhile, we hope everyone else is getting in shape for walking through your local area.

EDITOR'S NOTE– Enclosed with this issue is a reprint of what I consider the very best article on peace in the Middle East in light of the recent UN resolution on Zionism: ZIONISM & PEACE by I.F. Stone. Additional copies may be ordered: 10 for 25¢ 100 for $2.

LIFE FUNDS CONTINUE TO HELP

This time it is the New York City People's Life Fund which has helped the WRL in its present financial crisis with a $750 loan. Thanks friends.

CALENDAR ORDERS ROLLING

They're coming in large quantities as this issue goes to press. So, if you haven't ordered yours yet, do it now. The topic for the forthcoming Bicentennial year is one which will NOT be publicized by the Establishment Bicentennial–CREATIVE NONVIOLENCE IN U.S. HISTORY. Those who played a prominent part in it, and the nonviolent actions in which they participated will be featured in the text and illustrations (many of them photos).

The editor is Larry Gara, history professor at Wilmington (Ohio) College. Professor Martin Duberman has written the introduction. The price is $3 apiece, $11 for four–postpaid. Don't forget to order.

PLEDGE SYSTEM STRONGLY SUPPORTED

The office staff may not have written you yet if you have sent a pledge–or perhaps even some other letters. We are almost overloaded right now with calendar orders, responses to the fund appeal, work on the Walk, and with one staff person off on a month-long speaking tour. So, you have *not* been forgotten. And you will want to know that more than two hundred persons have joined the system of bi-monthly pledges, for amounts from $5 to $25 or more. We have not ended our financial problem–but the response you have all made has been of enormous help. If you sent a pledge, you will get regular mailings reminding you when the pledge is due, with specially marked envelopes so we can make sure your contributions count against the pledge.

If by any chance you were not able to respond to the fund appeal of last month, please use the business reply envelope enclosed with this issue of WRL News. Every issue of the *News* always has such an envelope, and even if you cannot make a pledge, it is very often possible to find a dollar bill in your pocket and send it off. (And if you put a stamp on the reply envelope it will save us paying the 15¢ to the postman when it comes in).

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(continued from page 3)

taxes" and "we are standing in proxy for the war killed." Alice Ray-Keil, John William, and Tom MacLean weren't smoothly ushered out of the parade—they were arrested for failure to disperse. Charges were dismissed a few weeks later.

WRL/West in San Francisco held their annual demonstration in mourning the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This August 6, the demonstration was held in Union Square and was arranged in coordination with many other Bay Area peace groups. The action began with an excellent press conference at Glide Church, where concerned professors and scientists spoke about nuclear war. Following this a procession of people with bandaged heads, dressed in black robes, walked to Union Square carrying signs demanding complete nuclear disarmament. It was difficult to gauge how many demonstrators came to Union Square since there was another rally taking place at the same time as ours, but over 4000 leaflets were distributed and 500 signatures on postcards demanding the US initiate a ban on all nuclear weapons were collected. The cards were sent on to President Ford.

To protest Indira Gandhi's repressive policies and state of national emergency, WRL/West held two demonstrations last summer in conjunction with the Socialist Party, several East Indians, and others. The first demonstration took place on July 9 at the Indian Consulate in San Francisco and got very good press coverage. About 500 people picketed and handed out leaflets, and a message was read from Joan Baez supporting the nonviolent struggle of India's J.P. Narayan. The demonstrators ended with a half hour meeting with Indian Consul General R.C. Arora. On Indian Independence Day, August 15, the same groups again picketed and leafleted outside the Consulate.

A coalition of southern California peace groups including the **Los Angeles WRL** held a highly successful 35-mile walk on August 9-10 commemorating the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The walkers, numbering nearly 100, gathered in front of the IRS office in West LA Saturday morning and departed on the first leg of the march to Ocean Park Community Church. Dr. Isidore Zifferstein spoke on the psychological effects of the bombing; Mandy Carter spoke on the importance and necessity for war tax resistance; and a Methodist minister serving the Japanese community spoke about those who lost parents, brothers and sisters in Nagasaki. The March passed El Segundo for a vigil at Rockwell International, the home of the B-1 bomber. During the vigil Chip Matthews of the AFSC gave a short rap on the B-1 including the fact that the cost of the plane to tax-payers is targeted now at $35 billion!

Two new WRL local groups have been formed over the last few months. **St. Louis WRL** (6199 Waterman, St. Louis, MO 63112) was begun primarily by Audrey Aronson Myers and Scott Myers. An offshoot of the successful Free Bobby Williams Committee, it will continue to focus on problems of prisons, in particular the Marion Brothers Campaign (the Federal prison in Marion, Illinois) is their main concern now. In October members of the Philadelphia WTR decided to expand their program emphasis and become **Philadelphia WTR/WRL**. One of their first actions as a WRL affiliate was to support the Friendshipment case of the AFSC. Those of you in the Philadelphia area who are interested in working with the Philadelphia WTR/WRL, contact Marty Zinn at 2016 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

DEMOS OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

BRITISH 14 TRIAL BEGINS

Coinciding with the start of the trial of 14 British pacifists facing a maximum of life imprisonment for possession of leaflets addressed to soldiers regarding service in Northern Ireland, WRLers and CPFers demonstrate at British Consulate in New York on September 29, Grace Paley, Karl Bissinger and Joanne Sheehan went inside to present a letter addressed to the British attorney general signed by some 40 name persons. "We strongly urge Her Majesty's Government to drop the case immediately and end all legal action in this matter", the letter said.

IN SUPPORT OF LARZAC

Passersby are stopping for a free taste of Roquefort cheese. The second picket (your editor) is wearing a sheep's mask, a reminder that this cheese is made from sheep's milk. The point is that the town of Roquefort is located in the Larzac region of southern France, which the French army wants to transform into a vast military base. But the peasants simply refuse to leave the area and large numbers of French people have rallied to their support. This demo, in which both WRL and FOR staffs participated was the first support action in the U.S. on November 12.

photos by Karl Bissinger

PRISONERS FOR PEACE

Federal Prison, Alderson, W.Va. 24910
Joann Mulert, Jane Kennedy
Federal Prison, Leavenworth, Kans. 66048
Mike Donner, Steve Marsden
Federal Prison, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505
Bruce Baechler
Federal Prison, Petersburg, Va. 23803
Willie Chadwick
Federal Prison, Sandstone, Minn. 55072
Nicholas Riddell
Federal Prison, Springfield, Mo. 65802
Paul Mack
Federal Prison, Tallahassee, Fla. 32302
James Sager
Federal Prison, Terre Haute, Ind. 47808
Robert McNamara
Disciplinary Barracks, Drawer A, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. 66027
Dave Locklin

WHY AN EX-NAVY MEDIC JOINED WRL

"My interest in WRL and nonviolence and pacifism is a direct result of 3½ years as a Navy medic during the Vietnam war," wrote Steven Krumholz in a letter accompanying his enrollment blank and contribution.

"I hope to do as much as I can the rest of my life so as to prevent other young people from having to experience the trauma of war. I worked extensively with paralyzed and other severely injured casualty cases. Because of this, I am convinced that war has no useful purpose and I know these injured veterans feel the same way."

A sociology major at Loyola University, Krumholz had contacted Mandy Carter of WRL's Los Angeles chapter.

RESIST THE MASS REGISTRATION

ALL REGISTRATIONS ON MARCH 31

by L. M. Jendrzejczyk

"The first step in the procurement of military manpower is registration."

If General Lewis B. Hershey, author of that statement, were alive today he would be delighted by plans now being made by Selective Service for the first annual, one-day registration. Scheduled to take place on March 31, the registration will seek to include 1.6 million young men born in 1957 in Washington's computer files of future "recruits," should inductions resume.

This could happen sooner than we might think. In the House of Representatives Congressmen Holland and David have just introduced a bill, HR 10486, to reinstate induction authority, require thirty-six months of service, and make women liable for the draft.

But even should the volunteer army continue to prosper, fueled by the vagaries of economic consciption, Selective Service seems more determined than ever to keep the draft alive.

In fact, registration plans revealed in a guide for state SSS directors (obtained by NISBCO), portend a strong, highly centralized draft apparatus with a major role in future manpower thinking. Local draft boards are to be phased out; registration sites will be set up in local VFW and American Legion halls, armories, and possibly some libraries and schools. Signed registration cards will be forwarded to Washington, where a computerized status card will be issued. Information such as date of birth and Social Security number will be shared with other federal agencies, adding to the power of Big Brother. An annual lottery will be held, but all will remain in class I-H until inductions should begin—which could happen any time by an act of Congress. Until then, there will be *no* opportunity to express conscientious objection to war, or eligibility for other classifications.

In response to the rebirth of this five-headed monster, several peace and religious groups have begun to organize a resistance campaign. It will be publicized in greater detail about the time of President Ford's proclamation announcing the call to "service." The focus will be on local, grassroots organizing and educational work, aimed at countering the SSS media blitz to begin in December using radio and TV spots, billboards, announcements in church bulletins, etc.

A program developed by CCCO, "Taking A Stand Against War," will give young men and women the opportunity to sign a card indicating opposition to war and requesting CO information. Part of the program, in cooperation with WRL, FOR, AFSC, NISBCO and others, will be advance work in schools and communities, raising the issues posed by registration, and offering a variety of options to young people.

In addition, WRL and FOR will be exploring the possibilities of noncooperation on various levels. Obvious responses include simply remaining home on March 31, and ignoring subsequent make-up registrations; or publicly defying the government edict, thus risking arrest, prosecution, and possible imprisonment. Less obvious responses might be to scrawl "I object to war" across the registration card (if you refuse to sign it, registrars are instructed to sign it for you), jamming the registration lines, or standing on the Right to Privacy Act and withholding your Social Security number. Nonviolent direct action, on March 31 and on days preceding it, would also have great potential.

But there are deeper questions we must address. In the decade of A-bombs and "detente," how are today's draft and today's young people different from those of the nineteen-sixties and early seventies? What are the implications of mass registration, whether it be universal national service at some later date; or war next year in Panama, Korea, or the Middle East, into which a whole post-Vietnam generation may be catapulted? What about the poor, and minority teenagers suffering the effects of racism, unemployment, and oppression? How do we, as pacifists and compatriots in their struggle, relate to their specific needs and desires for an alternative to the military, and to a system that defends the rich at the expense of the poor?

Finally, how can a campaign in 1975-6 avoid the chauvinism of the male-dominated draft campaign during Vietnam? How can young men and women, and their older, supporting counterparts, together express opposition to war and the idea that "equality" must be defined in military terms? It's worth noting that Congress has always had the authority to draft women. During World War II, when there was a shortage of nurses, the House passed a bill to draft LPN's. With a highly technological armed forces, "Aunt Susie" the recruiter, and the prospect of any new draft bill conceivably including women, we had better confront in closer light the issues of feminism and militarism.

In Europe, an international movement is developing in resistance to conscription and alternative service, with many going to jail. Its long range goal is to bring about positive, radical nonviolent changes in society. US Selective Service, its newly oiled machinery grinding towards March 31, demands from peacemakers here a revitalized commitment to challenge the power of the state to make war. And warriors.

Mike Jendrzejczyk is on the staff of the F.O.R.

ORGANIZING NOTES

by Grace Hedemann

WRL local groups across the country commemorated August 6 & 9 Hiroshima & Nagasaki Days. Groups have demonstrated and supported such causes as the British 14, Indian civil liberties and local military expansion issues. Below are some selected examples of campaigns by the WRL local groups over the last few months.

The Army wants to expand Fort Hood (situated about 70 miles north of Austin, Texas) to create more area for target practice and maneuvers. Unfortunately, this would result in a loss of land for many farmers and ranchers surrounding the base. **WRL/South Central** in Austin has developed contacts with the ad hoc group, "Our Land, Our Lives", opposing this expansion. Noting the parallel with the Larzac situation in southern France, WRL people hope to offer the rather conservative farmers and ranchers some nonviolent alternatives in fighting the expansion of Fort Hood. Craig Simpson, who has worked with WRI in the Larzac Campaign plans to visit the Our Land, Our Lives group and give his slide presentation of successful nonviolent actions in different parts of the world, according to Bill Newsom. The Texas branch of the Continental Walk will include Fort Hood as a major focus.

The Seattle Seafair people should receive a Bad Taste Award for the theme of this year's Torchlight parade, "A Salute to the Army and Navy on their Bicentennial." In response to this, it became evident to the **Seattle WTR/WRL** that it was time to swing into action. Betty Brantner reports that the Seattle protesters gathered their signs and made a mad dash downtown and impatiently waited for the moment that felt right. For some it was to follow the Navy float with a huge anti-Trident banner. Soon they were joined by a good number of motorcycle police and were ushered out of the parade. Three of the WRLers had unofficially joined the parade with placards marching behind the Army float that listed their conquests. The signs read "resist war

(continued on page 6)

WHAT STANCE SHOULD WRL TAKE?

REACH OUT TO MIDDLE AMERICA

by Roy Kepler

My concern is that WRL specifically and pacifist organizations generally are showing signs of diminishing numbers and influence just at a time when there are hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people who are questioning war and the society in which they live. The Women's Movement alone is reverberating throughout the country. But this questioning is happening just as the pacifists seem to be more involved with advancing "socialist" and/or "anarchist" ideas than they are in advancing pacifist analyses, principles and practices.

Without belaboring it here, I am skeptical as to the validity of the programs of the socialist and anarchist "revolutionaries" and ask if the diminishing impact of the WRL doesn't lie, at least in part, in the doctrinaire jargon and rhetoric of the self-styled pacifist leftists?

Even assuming the programs to be logically valid, it seems unlikely that the present cliches of socialist pacifism have much meaning or attraction for any significant number of Americans. It seems unlikely to me that a tiny minority can bring salvation to a majority until or unless the majority begins significantly to understand and accept some of the basic assumptions of the minority.

Thus the questions arise: who are we, and whom do we recruit? Almost all the literature and talk of recent years has described the pacifists and the WRL to be "leftist", and our appeals have constantly been directed to the left (or what we perceive to be the left). There has been little interest in addressing ourselves to the center and the right, yet nonviolence is a set of principles and ideas that should be universally valid.

I want WRL to address itself not only to the left but also to the millions upon millions of ordinary people who don't even recognize the categories. We are going to have to present, for instance, an analysis and an appeal to the millions of fundamentalists who frequently, in a paranoid fashion, view the left as anti-Christ.

We also need to recognize and value some of the institutions and values of political democracy (such as the Bill of Rights) that protect some of our rights even when we damn the frailty of the system.

Pacifists should, it seems to me, be leaders in finding alternatives to "the politics of anger". We should be critics of the traditional forms of revolution which essentially rest on a "catastrophe" premise: First we must have the catastrophe—which we help in any way we can—then we hope to build the good new society on the ashes of the old. Wresting power from an old regime has sometimes proved possible. But administering a new society is much more difficult and has in practice often resulted in dictatorship and oppression of another kind.

Hopefully the fresh currents from the Women's Movement may lead to fresh thinking and more compassion. We all have to open ourselves to a broader and more loving view of our fellows, no matter what their political stripe.

In the United States radical movements for social change have almost always drawn most of the initiators and pioneers from the broad middle class (or those who think of themselves as middle class). Our appeal should range from one end of the spectrum to the other drawing people of all kinds into a nonviolent community able to work both within and without the conventional frame.

As for working models, it seems to me that the Scandinavians, even with their warts, are some of the best exemplars of the kind of imperfect society we all could stand. Without the catastrophe of revolution they have as much or more of liberty, equality, fraternity, social justice, and well-being as any other societies in the world. Their pragmatic democratic society is at once socialist, capitalist and something beyond both.

The question I ask is this: How efficient is it to be locked into a tiny wing of the American people, trying to recruit war resisters from people already radicalized in some other cause (socialism, communism, anarchism) while millions of Americans are at least as open to nonviolence as most of the radical groups above. It is not without significance that the chief attacks on nonviolence have come, not from the middle class but from the left: see Sweezy, Lenin, Romiro, Debray, Fanon, Cleaver, Carmichael, etc. etc.

Paul Sweezy, a self-styled "independent marxist", who has recently been signed up as a signer of the Call to the Continental Walk, had this to say in December, 1973 concerning nonviolence and revolution.:

> The Chilian tragedy confirms what should have been, and to many was, obvious all along, that there is no such thing as a peaceful road to socialism. Those who are irrevocably committed to nonviolence would do well to admit that they are not revolutionaries and to confine their activities to seeking reforms which are safely within the framework of the capitalist system. The reason is simply that the beneficiaries of the existing system, including many who only imagine themselves to be its beneficiaries, are not going either to give up without a struggle or to renounce any means available to them in waging the struggle.

Are we to keep the so-called Middle Americans (who number over 100 million) outside our spectrum and concern? Nonviolence has a message for all people. The WRL needs to rethink its own values and to reorient its programs to appeal to those groups from which it and other radical causes have always drawn. Paul Sweezy and his friends are not a likely source of strength for pacifism and the WRL.

Roy Kepler recently raised questions about some of the positions taken by WRL, both in the way they were presented, and in the failure to take more serious account of the generous impulse of many Americans who are not part of "the Left". The Steering Committee has asked Roy Kepler and David McReynolds to open *the discussion. In an early issue of WRL NEWS others will be asked to join this discussion so that women as well as men, and those holding views quite different from either of those presented here, could be shared with the membership.*

WE NEED TO BROADEN OUR FOCUS

by David McReynolds

Roy Kepler has raised questions about the direction of WRL—whether our rhetoric is not too "left", and may turn off people who could be won to an opposition to violence. He is not alone in raising that question. I want to make two preliminary points.

The first is that the League is not immutable. It has internal struggles, and it does change its position. In the period immediately after World War II there was a fight by the young Turks home from prison—Dellinger, Rustin, Peck, DiGia—to shift the line of the League. The issues were carried to the membership, the League moved toward a call for revolutionary nonviolence that represented a real change in its earlier position. Similar debates occurred during the Vietnam period regarding work in coalitions, and Roy was among those who took part in the two-day policy discussion in New York some years ago in which the matter was resolved. So, point one, the League isn't what Roy Kep-

ler or David McReynolds or Irma Zigas says it is—the League is what *you* say it is, by the election of the National and Executive Committees, and by the National Conference. Staff, such as myself, needs to be particularly cautious about saying "what the League is" because we are hired, not elected. In writing this, I do so because I represent *a* viewpoint—probably a minority viewpoint—and not because staff can or should define the positions of the League.

The second point is a swift reprise of our origins. We were founded by three militant feminists who were socialists. They drew into the League a number of young anarchists who did not feel at home in religious pacifist groups. From the beginning, therefore, the League contained an interesting and creative tension between socialists and anarchists. What bound them together was the refusal to solve social conflict by resort to organized violence. That means that no revolutionary violence, no civil war, no war to "defend the nation" will get us to put on a uniform, pick up a rifle, and go off and shoot someone we never met. We also committed ourselves to dealing with the causes of war. But we never had a clear program of social change. We don't have one now. I doubt if we ever will. People who look for "the" answer, will not find it here—we are engaged in a search. Some of us belong to other groups that we feel help "round out" our position, as I belong to the Socialist Party. (Because the Socialist Party is committed to the democratic process and generally has opposed violence, WRL has always drawn into its ranks a number of SP members. We are a minority but like to think of ourselves as the leaven in the loaf—others think of us as very bitter salt).

Having said this much about the origins of the League and the fact its policy *can* be changed, that the leading committees can be defeated in elections, and staff replaced, let me suggest at least one basic position *some* of us in the League do hold, a position not shared by many others. I am among those who would rather prevent wars that protest them. I am a democratic Marxist who believes in the social ownership of the means of production. And, looking around me at the city and nation in which I live, I see a real war waged against the poor, the elderly, the blacks and Puerto Ricans. Unemployment is—in my mind—direct violence. Men commit suicide because they can't care for their families. Women go mad because they are driven from the job market. Blacks engage in crime because they cannot find work and must find a way to eat. Thousands and tens of thousands walk the streets of New York as broken people, alcoholics, addicts, prostitutes—because they cannot find work. That violence is as real to me as napalm falling on Vietnam—and it is much closer. It is on my block, my street.

I do not believe WRL should focus *only* on military spending and disarmament—though I've done as much as any other person to help shift the League back to the disarmament issue, fighting for that shift within committees, at the National Conference, and in WRL News. I *also* want the League to see that the system itself is oppressive on many levels.

However if I—or any who share my position—have spoken in cliches, then I deeply regret that. Because I believe that the nature of an oppressive system is that it oppresses *everyone within it*. There is no doubt that farm labor in California suffers—but so do small businesspeople, so do those who are retired and on a fixed income. There is no doubt that blacks suffer—but so do lower income whites. For this reason if I have used cliches I am my own enemy, for what I want to communicate is that social change would be liberating for most of society and oppressive only for a few—Rockefeller would simply have to learn to live on a small income and with only one home.

I think pacifists need to remember that the greatest modern exponent of nonviolence was Gandhi, and he dealt not with war but with a national revolution in India. In our own country the great exponents of nonviolence have been King and Chavez, and they dealt with problems of racism and of labor exploitation. I do not see the WRL as committed *only* to the issue of war between nations, but also to war against peoples, even when that war is carried on silently by the weapons of unemployment, exploitation, etc. I do not think we can win the struggle against that kind of war without socialism of some kind. But I do not urge the WRL to adopt a single line on this question. Our singular and enormous contribution is to recognize that nonviolence can be used to resolve social conflict. It is that belief which unites us even when we differ sharply on the "answers" to great social problems. At least we know violence is *not* the answer.

And we are united on something else which often gets us into trouble with some elements on the Left. We believe the human person is sacred, unique, and cannot be treated as a means to some end, not by the State, not by the Corporation, *and not even by "The Party"*. We do not oppose prisons because the wrong people are in them, but because anyone is in them. Rockefeller and Ford and Nixon are not "rats", but men, tragic, oppressive, but still human. Certainly I care less about them than about the poor soul wandering the streets of Manhattan, but both as a Marxist and as a pacifist, I refuse to make an enemy out of any individual. However it is also true that both as a pacifist and as a marxist I do not believe the reign of violence can end within human history without profound structural change in our institutions—without a social revolution. Other pacifists—very possibly a majority of the League—do not agree with this position. The miracle is that we work together, permit these differences, respect them, and continue—as an organization—to focus on violence as an enemy of us all, while differing on the ways in which it might finally be rooted out.

IF YOU GOT AN EXTRA CALENDAR APPEAL . . .

We have gotten dozens of complaints from people who got three, four, or five mailings promoting the Peace Calendar. They have told us what an enormous waste is involved, that they deeply resent this, and we should check our lists. Please let us explain (once more). WRL people are different from other people—maybe we are better. In any event, you are the kind of person who subscribes or gives contributions to a lot of good causes. When we exchange our mailing lists with those groups, we get your name. Your name is one of thousands on the list we get, already addressed, and handled by a computerized mailing house. There is *no way*—without spending hundreds or even thousands of dollars—that we can eliminate duplication. We know it is a waste and regret it. The only alternative is to give you the *illusion* we were avoiding waste by wasting huge amounts of time and money clearing the lists of each group with which we exchange. This is part of the modern technological problem of dealing with a large mailing house and computers. You are not happy with it, neither are we. Take comfort that every duplication shows how much you care about society, because it shows how many groups you care enough to support, and on whose lists you have gotten. Please pass on extra copies to friends.

MONTGOMERY ANNIVERSARY

WRL is one of the organizations which participated in the "20th Anniversary of the Present Day Nonviolent Movement (Montgomery Bus Boycott" observed December 5-7 in Montgomery, Alabama. At the time of the boycott, Bayard Rustin, who was then the League's executive secretary, worked closely with Martin Luther King Jr. and Jim Peck, still on the staff; assisted Rustin in organizing a big benefit concert by Coretta King to raise funds for the boycott.